"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests part each of them has to address the host in a short speech, the essence of which is always the same and has been related before in connection with the Indian feasts. Generally they address other members of the family too, and other persons staying in the house, with a word answering to our 'Good bye'. This word is Weáhei, 'I go', to which is generalby [sic] added the word Puhústa, 'May you sit down', 'May you stay here in peace'."

l: Karsten--248 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 562 (1928-29)

"Women have no particular greeting ceremonies when they come or go. Still at the great feasts I noticed that parting women took leave of the hostess by fanning her gently on the arms and shoulders with a big leaf, at the same time blowing and spitting on these parts of her body. The hostess returned these expressions of affection which, I was told, are customary at leave-taking among the Jibaro women."

"Ceremonial g[r] greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail [i]l in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if [if] the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form [m] called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for [r] war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of th[e] the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially [l]y as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace [b]e behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other [p]one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whet[h]ether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing [e]each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out cer[t]ertain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the [l]he lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, ?, 'Who are you?'
Wetei (Andiche[h]heiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Aminyu wikahe[h]hei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--c[h]--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunai --w[h]--waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichăma wikáhei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wăriki, wăriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Seásа itáhei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itáhei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Seasa, akáru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Maketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

I: Karsten--335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 727, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests enter the house [JKM: for the first day of the victory feast] they are received by the hosts--the father, brothers, or sons of the slayer--with a ceremonial greeting. The men generally enter three or four at a time. Each of them utters a loud: 'Winyáhei,' 'I come,' whereupon all arrange themselves in a row close to the door, with their lances stretched forth, and remain motionless until they are spoken to by the hosts. Some of the boys in the house step forward and hand a small round chair (kutánga) to each of the guests, who now take a seat, but still without uttering a word, and holding their lances between their knees. The hosts, having arranged their dress and painted their faces, take their seats, each sitting in front of the guest to whom he is going to speak, and only utter the word winiti, 'may you come.' This is the signal to the guest that he may start speaking. He mentions that he has been invited to the feast, that he has accepted the invitation and arrived to honour the victor, etc. The conversation mostly turns on the feast, the preparations made for it, the number of swine bred for the same, the number of guests invited, etc. The host and the guest speak in turns not in the ordinary conversational tone but shouting. Each conversation lasts for about 10 minutes, and each guest has to be spoken to separately by some one of the hosts. During the conversation manioc-beer is repeatedly served to the guests by the women in the house. Each guest has to empty at least three dishes (pininga) of this drink. After this ceremonial reception the guests may step forth from the door and move about in the house

1: Karsten--335
116, 727, 576

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

at liberty; and other guests arriving are received in the same manner.

Only the men are received in this ceremonial way. The women, following their husbands, fathers, or brothers, enter without any form of salutation and are not particularly spoken to by the hosts."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war.Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--190-191 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 431, 576

"We had been careful to bring with us an assortment of trade-goods--a few beads, some small round looking-glasses, and (most successful of all) a supply of their own particular brand of poison. This latter we carried in sections of bamboo cane, about an inch in diameter and six inches long. The poison is poured in after removing one of the knots or partitions which grow at regular intervals, and the cup thus formed, when full, is closed with a palm leaf tied down with a strip of bark; the latter is put on green, and when it dries it automatically tightens up, sealing this natural receptacle as securely as a jam-pot

Once they began to take an interest in the presents, things went swimmingly. Little by little the howling of the tribe in the huts behind the undergrowth had died away, open hostility gave place to confidence, more and more savages slipped down to the canoe to see what we had, urged thereto by their companions who had already done so, and little by little friendly relations were established. Finally, their curiosity, nursed by the evident delight of their men-folk at the treatment they were receiving at our hands, overcame the women of the settlement. Down they came to the bank, each one bearing an enormous gourd full of giamanchi, first in one and twos [191] and then in one great stampede. The etiquette in connection with the welcoming of guests, be they friends or strangers, is rigid and extremely burdensome to one whose stomach is not accustomed to receiving unlimited gallons of liquid. A rough estimate proves that there must have been presented to us in all some 600 gallons of giamanchi, all of which we were expected to

drink if possible. If not, we were at any rate bound to taste each one of the gourds which were brought down to the river by the some 300 wives of the numerous warriors who were assembled on that beach. For refusal to accept food at the hands of any one of the women, who represent their lords in this ceremony, is sure to incur grave displeasure. After the tenth drink or so Game, who was of a distinctly independent turn of mind, began to protest to me in no uncertain terms that he would 'see himself dead before he would touch another drop ' I implored him at any rate to go through the motions of imbibing, to which he eventually allowed himself to be persuaded. And so we solemnly raised every one of those nauseating receptacles to our lips, and were at peace with the Antipas."

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -1
116, 609, 576

"Pitacunca, [KS: medicine man and navigator] having landed, shot one glance at the camp and its inhabitants, and turned on his heel. Followed by the rest of the savages, he walked to a spot some twenty yards away, sat down with his back to all of us, and set up a dismal wailing chant in a minor key. His every action was imitated by the others, who joined in the chorus, and sent that dirge floating across the Marañon. Never a word had any of them spoken since they had caught sight of our outfit. They seemed to be stunned [231] by the sight of so many apaches (white people) and so much kit, as if the folly of having entrusted themselves to these unknown white creatures was suddenly brought home to them. No other reason occurs to me for so much yowling. It seemed as if they would never stop and we did not care to interrupt them, until finally Jack, whose first introduction to the Antipas cannot be said to have been inducive to a happy understanding, enquired in plain English whether they didn't see their way to changing the tune. The tune never was changed, but at the end of half an hour or so it died a natural death.

Little by little the Jívaros drifted over and seated themselves by the camp fire. Finally Jack and Ed. roused them from the trance into which they had fallen, the former doing a double-shuffle in the bottom of the Exploradora to the accompaniment of the latter's banjo. The savages were greatly inpressed, both by the unrivalled quality of the music and the dancer's skill! To complete their recovery, we presented them with the most glaring specimens of the shirts we carried for barter--they were striped

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 609, 576

indiscriminately with orange, black, red, yellow and green, and were known among us as 'Hallelujahs.' "

Strangers or visitors may not sit on the cután. [KS: Wooden seat used by head of the house.] Before sitting on one of the beds, they must wait, standing near the entrance, to talk with the owner. It is a sign of distinction for a visitor to be offered the "cután" by his host.

26: Brüning--75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 505, 576

With reference to canoe voyages I should mention the following: As soon as a settlement is in sight, the Indians put ashore in order to wash and comb themselves and to paint their faces. Then they proceed, and when they pass a settlement, they hit the edge of the canoe with their paddles and give a long oration with a loud voice. They do this until the settlement is out of sight.

Bordesholm, January 1928.

Hans H. Brüning.

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great distance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[725] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance; and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 605 met, they fought. Finally, Alaṇá gave his sister to Tukupi. Thereafter, when Alaṇá beat Tukupi's sister, Tukupi beat Alaṇá's sister.

Tukupi said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupi and Alaṇa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jivaro explain that they cannot joke with other 602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest 606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her. 576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even [832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for [578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jivaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[1] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

that they are not on a hostile mission of wealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amići*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obligation; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.